mingled more freely as a result of travel on the government roads and trails (which they have to keep in order), trading, Mission and official gatherings, and other new opportunities for interpersonal relations. One special feature of Orokaiva life in modern times is the annual burning-off of grasslands by hunting parties in order to get wild game. This has probably involved the assembly of larger groups and is one of the few activities which could induce intersettlement cooperation. The writer sensed the parallel of the crude local fires set for garden clearing and the general burning-off of grasslands to the major burning and blackening in the wake of the volcano—doubtless a mighty job of clearing to the Orokaiva eye.

Within the limits that brief characterizations of personality norms can be valid, observers seem to agree that the Orokaiva as individuals have traits congruent with the social structure that favor individuality and mobility. Even the casual visitor gets a sense of independence, alertness, self-reliance, "strong talking," dignity, restraint, imperturbability at meeting the unexpected event, and high-tension interpersonal behavior in general. This is in particularly striking contrast to such an elaborately structured society as that of Samoa, where the writer had been working shortly before. In informal groups seen around the camps and waiting at airfields for transport, women and children, far from being in the background, kept up a busy verbal exchange with the men. The Administration has considered the Orokaiva territory as perhaps the best recruiting ground for its Royal Papuan Constabulary on the basis of these personality characteristics, including ability to meet crisis conditions such as patrols may encounter.

The Orokaiva religious history is also particularly interesting here. Their traditional faith, Williams says, though in many respects vague and locally variable, concerned itself "primarily with the spirits of the dead" and their influence on the welfare of the living. Death was appraised with particular realism, although it was considered ultimately as the result of supernatural causes. Magic had a consistent place. Orokaiva country, however, has been swept in modern times by a series of new cults indicative of religious adaptability in the face of fresh experience. First to come into prominence was the *Baigona,* or "snake cult" of 1911-12, succeeded from 1914 on by the so-called "Taro cult" which in turn had undergone a series of local reformulations by the time Williams reported on it in 1924.[7] Central features of the Taro cult were association of successful taro cultivation with the ancestral spirits, approached by way of a "shaking-fit" technique of revelation, together with somewhat new types of public ritual and symbols, including fragmentary elements from Christianity. Later Belshaw and others reported that "Christian Co-operative Evangelist" societies, which were developed by the Anglican Mission among some Orokaiva converts for the cooperative growing of rice and other crops, tended to assume a somewhat parallel and absorbing mystical agriculture context. Rumors spread of "an order from the King (of England) that co-operatives

7. *Orokaiva Magic,* Part I; see also Chinnery, E. W. P. and Haddon, A. C., "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea," *Hibbert Journal,* 15, 3 pp. 448-463 (1917). Materials are also found in the official reports of the time.

should be formed . . . (and that) as a result of their activities the white people would leave Papua and the villagers would be in charge of their own affairs." This type of cooperative movement was stimulated after the war, and included putting crosses in the gardens, offering prayers before gardening activity, building special houses in which cooperators could meet and eat, and collecting money for vague purposes. Even in the face of Mission reluctance and some Orokaiva opposition, Government finally stepped in to try to give it better direction; a Cooperative officer was trying to bring the situation under control when the volcano exploded.[2]

As final pieces in this background mosaic, the effects of World War II may be noted. When the Japanese moved in they formed labor gangs with the small number of captured whites, including Mission workers, later removing them when Allied attack was imminent. As battles ranged through the area, Orokaiva were drawn in as helpers, willingly or otherwise, on both sides of the lines. After the Japanese surrender, American forces built up large military establishments including airfields in the Buna-Oro Bay zone. Great numbers of Orokaiva were gathered together in work camps which were not unlike the present refugee camps as regards living conditions, food, and social structuring. In the wake of the war, War Damage Compensation representing considerable money wealth by Orokaiva standards came into the area. Some of the younger men who were "veterans" were given technical training at Higatura and elsewhere.

These Orokaiva were generally resistant to a war-stimulated movement to consolidate into larger settlements although it has had considerable vogue along the coast and in the Kokoda region. Typically, the new villages have been built in an open area, with houses drawn up like a military encampment on three sides of a square or rectangle. The inner square is used for soccer football, which is tremendously popular, and for other community purposes. Subsequent to the eruption, the Orokaiva who resettled along the jeep-roads outside the danger zone were encouraged by Government officers to build this type of village, and the houses were laid out under the official eye. First, the men left the relief camps to erect buildings, and were followed later by the women and children. These new settlements contain anywhere from 100 to 400 persons, with the kin and hamlet alignments usually kept through contiguous housing. Such units are within sight of one another, and from the air resemble a chain of fairly continuous settlements. Some family and hamlet groups, however, have inconspicuously avoided settling in these new villages although this has been difficult because Government has tried to keep a very tight supervision in case its judgment as to the danger perimeter has been wrong. A government post was established in each of the two main resettlement zones to facilitate this supervision.

Belshaw has observed this resettlement in a somewhat more advanced stage than was seen by the writer. He comments that in general the prime concern of the people was

2. Belshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-252, gives a fuller account of this cooperative movement and its significance. Publications of the Anglican Mission also contain references, seen by the writer some years ago, but not available at the time of writing this paper.